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give her the best mare taken. She would not refuse him anything he asked of her, and, if he were killed while fighting with the enemy, she was expected to inflict self-torture and dress in mourning. She would assist her brothers in acquiring property needed for the ceremonies. This bond of mutual assistance was not affected by his subsequent marriage. Brothers and sisters were supposed to share in the perpetuation of their parents' ceremonial bundles. In old age, when their respective families were broken up by deaths, brothers would frequently return to the parental lodge. The smallpox epidemic of 1837 left many orphans, and these were taken into households where the females were of the same clan.

Grandfather–grandchild (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—The grandfather–grandchild relation was, in general, one of affection. The grandfather would make toys for his grandsons, teach them stories, and watch after them when on summer buffalo hunts, especially when moving camp or while the men and women of middle age were busy butchering and drying meat. Of the large number of persons addressed as "grandfather," his closest relations were those associated with him in the daily life of the household. The lodge grandfather was usually the one to take a grandson to the river early each morning to bathe. He teased his grandson mildly for falling off a horse or for small infractions of tribal custom, but the grandson would not reciprocate, since the grandfather was respected for his knowledge of tribal lore, the enemies he had struck, or the horses he had captured. A young man was expected to respect older people as holy, since in their lifetime they had had experiences with sacred things in the ceremonies.

The grandfather would play with a granddaughter when she was young and teach her stories. When she attained the age of ten years, he would avoid her lest people gossip. Should he come into the lodge and find a granddaughter alone, he would leave immediately.

A grandfather never punished grandchildren, but he would scold them. A grandfather living in the lodge was highly respected and was very helpful in preparing a grandson for ceremonies and war expeditions. If he became cross as he grew old, the grandson generally avoided him. If the grandfather was of

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603 [601] the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 844 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'haḳE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 868 601 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaughter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she expected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 592 613 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

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brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during ceremonies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter." The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

Father-in-law–daughter-in-law (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

Mother-in-law–daughter-in-law (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she in-

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herited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household through a grandmother–granddaughter relationship. This was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would.

Father-in-law–son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas–no'haka; ptuts'–ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.[2] The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of preferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble.

Mother-in-law–son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE–nohaka or ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks'* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptuminiks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohaka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

2. Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

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nan who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons' " wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.